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TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The year now closed has been one of trial, as well as of favor, to the cause of peace. The alarms of war, the pressure of the times, and the loss of devoted and valuable coadjutors, have put our faith and patience to a severe test ; but the God of peace has nevertheless smiled upon our cause, and crowned the efforts in its behalf, both here and elsewhere, with a degree of success equal to our highest expectations, and much beyond our fears.

The providence of God has called us, during the year, to a severe loss, in the death of our late Recording Secretary, EDWARD NOYES, of this city. None but those who knew him intimately, would have suspected the full importance of his services to the cause of peace. Strong in the belief of its principles, zealously devoted to its interests, and ever ready to give his time, his efforts and his money for its advancement, his associates in the management of the Society's affairs deeply feel his loss, and cannot refrain from recording their grateful remembrance of his services, and their high estimate of his worth.

A still greater loss has been inflicted in the death of Count de Sellon. A nobleman by birth, and occupying a high and commanding position in Switzerland, he was able, by his talents, his knowledge, and a generous use of his wealth, to exert in behalf of our cause an important influence upon the higher classes in the Old World. Impressions received in his youthful travels, especially from the terrible effects of the wars consequent upon the French Revolution, early disposed him to look with horror upon the effusion of human blood, and eventually to vindicate the strict inviolability of the life of man, as the grand object of his labors. When elected to the sovereign council of Switzerland, he advocated the abolition of capital punishment ; and, in 1826, he formed a society for the same purpose, published a pamphlet of his own, and offered for an essay a prize which called forth a large number of competitors. His efforts to secure the inviolability of human life led him, of course, to reflect on the wholesale butcheries of war ; but, ignorant of what had been done by the friends of peace in England and America, it was not till near the close of 1830

that he founded the Geneva Peace Society, of which he continued, till his death in June last, the illustrious President, and the chief ornament.

We cannot pause here to sketch the character of Count de Sellon, or to glance at the variety of his labors in the cause of peace. His pen and his purse were consecrated to its advocacy ; and he labored with a degree of success not to have been expected amidst the time-honored prejudices of Europe in favor of the war-system. He started and sustained a periodical on the subject of peace, and made provisions in his will for its continuance, at his own expense, ten years from the time of his death. Some of the ablest pens were enlisted in the cause by the prizes he offered ; and of the numerous pamphlets written by himself, some were sent to monarchs, and received, for the most part, with unexpected favor. He sometimes interposed his personal services to avert the threatened horrors of war ; in one instance, he was signally successful as a peacemaker between the cantons of Switzerland ; and, though cut down at the age of fifty-seven, in the fulness of his power to benefit mankind, he had probably started a train of influences in favor of peace that will continue to the end of time.

The year has been pregnant with omens of evil to our cause. Every quarter of the globe has been more or less threatened with collision and bloodshed. We have seen the clouds of war apparently gathering afar in the horizon ; we have heard the mutterings of the distant thunder ; we have occasionally felt or fancied the earth heaving beneath our own feet ; and some of the wisest political seers have foreboded a general war, more fierce, protracted and desolating than any that have been witnessed in our day. Our own difficulties with England, at the South as well as the North, still unsettled ; the interference of European powers in the quarrels of Turkey and Egypt ; the growing jealousies between the leading cabinets of the Old World ; the apparent disposition of Great Britain to enforce the opium trade in China, against law, humanity and decency ; the heaving, and dashing, and foaming of the great ocean of mind through Christendom, if not through the world ; the interminable commotions in Spain, in Mexico, and nearly all the republics of South America ;—these and many other causes have been conspiring to excite in the wisest and coolest among us, strong apprehensions of a war that might plunge the whole civilized world into a maelstrom of blood.

An all-powerful Providence, however, has graciously interposed its shield against these threatened evils, and thus far kept the great brotherhood of nations from a general conflict. War has, indeed, been doing its baleful work in some parts even of Christendom,—in Spain, in Mexico, in Florida, in South America, in portions of Asia and Africa, connected with the leading powers of Europe; but all the atrocities it has perpetrated, all the evils it has inflicted during the whole year, are scarcely to be compared with those of a brief campaign, or a single battle, during the bloody career of Napoleon. We have heard of no civil war like that which once deluged the fairest fields of France in the blood of her own children; of no campaign like the Russian, with its half million of victims in six months; of no battle-fields like that of Waterloo, with its 40,000 sufferers, or that of Borodino, with its 80,000, weltering in their own gore, and half a continent plunged in grief and mourning. Causes have been at work sufficient, fifty or even thirty years ago, to render such terrible results well nigh inevitable; but a hand mightier than man's, has held the elements of mischief in check, dispersed the gathering clouds of war, and caused the sunshine of general peace to continue its genial influences. Agriculture has sown its fields, and reaped its golden harvests in peace; ten thousand villages, safe from the incursions or the alarms of war, have continued the cheerful whirl and clatter of their manufactures; commerce has kept up the hum of business in a thousand cities, whitened every sea with its sails, and bartered its commodities in almost every port on the globe; travel has gone in safety, amidst the reciprocities of fraternal respect and kindness, from kingdom to kingdom, from continent to continent; literature, science and philosophy, unchecked by the ruthless espionage of the war demon, have been interchanging their light through the civilized world; nor have efforts for the revival of pure religion among ourselves, for the reform of crying abuses at home, and for the spread of Christianity to the ends of the earth, been thwarted, and deranged, and crippled, and brought to a dead pause, by the omnipresent counteractions of this custom, by the ubiquity of its malign influences upon all the interests of mankind for time and eternity.

These facts are obvious to every eye; but it is painfully amusing to see how perversely or superficially some minds will account for them. Europe, brought to the brink of a conflict like that of her "thirty years' war," is held back from the fatal

plunge ; and the escape one man ascribes to the skill of diplomacy, another to the balance of power, and a third to the general preference for the blessings of peace to the blood-bought glories of war. But what has created such a preference, or given to modern diplomacy, or the balance of power, an efficacy sought for so many ages in vain ? Two nations, on the point of drawing the sword for the paltry consideration of \$5,000,000, are reconciled through the mediation of a friendly monarch ; and anon we are gravely told, just as if it explained the whole matter, that rulers are now much more inclined than formerly to adjust their difficulties by pacific means. Very true ; but what has produced such a disposition ? We were once on the eve of a conflict with Mexico ; and, when the danger vanished on a mutual agreement to refer the point in dispute, the parties were congratulated on such an exemplification of the pacific spirit now so happily prevalent. But whence arose such a spirit ? How came the two republics to agree on such a mode of terminating their differences ? Not one man in a thousand, even among ourselves, has ever suspected, what Ex-President Adams states as his own belief, from an intimate knowledge of the case, that the adjustment of that dispute without bloodshed resulted directly from the efforts made by the friends of peace for the purpose. When England and the United States refuse to risk the countless evils of war for the right of jurisdiction over a forest not worth the thousandth part of what such a conflict would cost, we are sagely told that public opinion will no longer tolerate a resort to arms in such a case, that the world has grown too wise to play a game so suicidal, that a vast variety of influences are now at work to prevent a catastrophe so deplorable. True ; but what put these influences in operation ? Whence did we learn a wisdom so little known to past ages ? What has created a public opinion so averse to war ? It is owing, mainly, to efforts in the cause of peace ; and with equal justice might we account for the recent abstinence of millions from intoxicating drinks, without any allusion to the efforts made by the friends of temperance to promote that glorious reform. Men of intelligence ought to know, that the general peace of Christendom for the last quarter of a century has, under God, resulted in no small degree from the efforts and influences which together constitute the cause of peace. It is these that have been silently leavening the nations with pacific principles, creating among them a general aversion to war, and disposing them to employ better

means than the sword in vindicating their rights, and redressing their wrongs. But for these, there might, ere this, have been a war between us and Mexico, a war between us and France, a war between us and Great Britain, a series of wars among other nations, perhaps a general war, involving the whole civilized world.

Here, then, is a species of moral insurance against war, the most economical and efficacious the world has ever seen. In comparison with the evils inseparable from the war method of security, what have all these important results cost? No empires ravaged; no provinces plundered; no cities or villages laid in ruins; no armies cloven down upon the field of battle; no families reduced to widowhood and orphanage; no souls hurried in guilt and blood to their last account; no expenditure like the thousand millions of dollars wasted every year, even of peace, by Christendom alone, in support of her war-system; no interruption of agriculture, or crippling of manufactures, or suspension of commerce, or general derangement of business, or drying up of the great sources of wealth and comfort to nations; but simply an outlay, in twenty-five years, of less money than would be required to maintain a single war-ship in actual service for three months!

FUNDS.—The financial condition of this enterprise has never been affluent; and a variety of causes have conspired during the year to diminish our income, and curtail our operations. Our Society, at the time of its removal to this city, was in debt nearly \$1000; and, starting here at the very moment when the wheels of business, through the nation and the world, were brought to such an ominous pause in 1837, we have been obliged to struggle continually with peculiar difficulties. We could not reduce our scale of operations much, without hazard to our ultimate prosperity; nor could we enlarge it, without risking a debt which might crush or permanently cripple us. We resolved on a cautious medium; but, called so loudly to special efforts against the threatened war with England, and deeming it imperative upon us to spare, for nearly two years, the services of our President in bringing out the volume of Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, we found ourselves, at the close of last year, nearly \$1500 in debt; an amount quite large, in comparison with our meagre income, but very small, in view of the publications issued, of the agencies sustained, and other efforts put forth in furtherance of the cause. Our President has necessarily been occupied mostly with the volume of Prize Essays; and no other person, except our Correspond-

ing Secretary, has been constantly employed in the delivery of lectures, and the collection of funds. The extreme pressure of the times has cut off nearly all spontaneous contributions; nor has the Christian community provided for this, as for many kindred enterprises, a system of voluntary coöperation to insure funds without application from ourselves repeated on every return of our wants. We have, of course, suffered from the embarrassments of the country much more than almost any other society. Not a few, even of our firm friends, imagine that our cause needs little money, and are therefore induced, at a juncture like the present, either to withhold their aid entirely, or to give only a dollar, where the exigences demand twenty, fifty, or a hundred.

Under all the circumstances of the case, however, we have occasion to congratulate the Society on the amount of its receipts. The contributions, during the first part of the year, were more free and liberal than ever we had found them before; had the country continued to enjoy an ordinary degree of prosperity, our income would doubtless have exceeded that of any preceding year; and, in spite of the times, we have received \$2033,16, besides what has been received for the volume of Prize Essays, making in all nearly \$3,000.

AGENCIES.—Our President and Corresponding Secretary have devoted their whole time to our service, mainly in delivering lectures, collecting funds, and superintending our correspondence and publications. Providence has opened before them ample fields of usefulness in the cause; and they have almost invariably met with a kind of reception, and a degree of success, well calculated to encourage their efforts. There is obviously a growing disposition to look with favor on our cause, to welcome its advocates, and facilitate its movements; and, had we the means of bringing its claims fully before the whole nation, we might rally the best part of them very soon in its support.

Besides the constant labors of our President and Secretary, a brief agency has been performed by the Rev. W. H. DALRYMPLE, late pastor of the Baptist church in Northborough, Mass.; several local agents, in different parts of New England, have rendered some incidental services in their vicinity; and we trust that the thousand ministers, or more, once pledged to the annual advocacy of this cause before their respective congregations, have not, in consequence of our withholding the Society's periodical, ceased from a duty so obviously incumbent upon all ambassadors of the Prince of peace.

PUBLICATIONS.—We have not published quite so much this year as last, partly for the want of means, and partly because we had on hand a large quantity of publications, by previous gift or purchase; yet we have issued an amount equal to about 2,000,000 tract pages, besides all that has been inserted on the subject in newspapers, and other periodicals, which has some years exceeded the sum total of our own issues.

The Advocate of Peace, partly from the inadequacy of our income, and partly in the hope of having it, as soon as possible, date its successive volumes from January, instead of June, has been issued during the year only once in two months, and in quantities varying from 2000 to 2700 to the number. The state of our funds has compelled us very reluctantly to withhold it the past year from all but paying subscribers, and members of the Society entitled to it by former or continued donations; but we should greatly rejoice in being able to send it without charge to every minister of the gospel in the nation; we doubt whether a more important service could, in any way, be rendered to the cause; and, should any of our wealthy friends be disposed to furnish the means, we would gladly scatter them, in this or any other way, all over the country. We regard the *Advocate* as our main instrument, and are anxious to give it, if possible, a circulation wide and general enough to reach every neighborhood in the land. Its regular subscribers have been steadily increasing; but their number ought to be multiplied fifty-fold. It could be greatly increased with little trouble to our friends; and we would urge them all to special efforts in procuring new subscribers. Let a single copy of such a work go once a month into every neighborhood; and in ten years it might, with the blessing of God, create a public opinion against war sufficient to insure permanent peace.

CONGRESS OF NATIONS.—The most important labor of the year has been the publication of the long-delayed Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations. The history of this volume is too well known to need repetition here; and suffice it to say, that five of the forty or more essays originally presented as competitors for the prize first of \$500, then of \$1000, and a sixth essay, as a general supplement and review, written by our President at the request of the Executive Committee, have been published in a splendid volume of 700 pages octavo. It is for others to pass judgment on the merits of this work; but we cannot refrain from expressing our high estimate of its

value, and our belief that it will form an era in the cause. Sent to the principal rulers in our own country, to the crowned heads of Europe, to many of the leading minds throughout Christendom, it can hardly fail, by its powerful and varied exhibitions of the subject in its practical bearings on the intercourse of nations, to produce a strong and decidedly favorable impression concerning the project. The current of ages has been steadily drifting towards some experiment of the kind; religion and philanthropy, learning, liberty and commerce, all the great interests of the world, are loudly calling, and fast preparing the way for it; and the minds of men, in the most enlightened parts of Christendom, will soon be, if they are not already, prepared to look with much favor upon such a proposal to bring the intercourse, rights and obligations of states, like those of individuals in society, under the control and protection of laws definitely settled, rightly applied, and peacefully yet effectively enforced by better means than the cannon and the sword.

The attention of legislators, in England as well as our own country, has been called during the year to this subject. We have no means of ascertaining how much has been done in this way; but we know that a considerable number of petitions, besides the one sent in our own name by our Committee, some of them drawn up with great ability, and signed by the most respectable men, have been presented to Congress. They were received with quite as much favor as could have been expected; but we know not whether any decisive action has been had on the subject; nor will any thing be attempted in earnest, until the cessation or abatement of struggles for party ascendancy shall leave some room for those great interests which rulers are chosen to promote. Till then we must keep vigorously at work among the people, and rest meanwhile in the assurance that we shall, of course, have politicians on our side just as soon as we gain their constituents. Rulers in a government like ours, if not in every other, must sooner or later echo the voice of the people; and our first, our chief business is to fill the latter with the spirit and principles of peace, and create among them a strong, a universal demand for some substitute for war that shall supersede its long supposed necessity.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.—Our brethren abroad have fully kept pace with our own efforts. From the continent of Europe we can give no certain details; but in Great Britain our co-workers have been prosecuting the cause apparently

with more energy and success than ever. They have not yet reached a degree of power sufficient to hold the nation back even from such a war as that with China ; but they have had the moral courage to protest, before parliament, England and the world, against the proposal, as an outrage upon law, humanity, and the Christian religion. Their periodical, tracts and volumes on the subject of peace have long been diffusing a silent, yet strong and benign influence ; and they now have in their service two able, devoted agents, traversing the kingdom to deliver lectures, hold discussions, and thus rouse the public mind to a proper examination of this long-neglected subject.

The cause is onward. It is the cause of a bleeding world ; and it *must* prevail. It is the cause of God ; and it *will* prevail. Its progress may be retarded ; but its wheels can never roll back, nor long stand still. It may, doubtless will, meet a series of obstructions ; but over them all it will sooner or later roll to ultimate, universal triumph. Our courage, our zeal may flag and fail ; but the resources of the universe are pledged in the promises of God for its final success. Its strongest champions, its brightest ornaments, may die ; but its almighty Friend on the eternal throne still lives ; and, if there be truth in the promises of his word, or power sufficient in the arm of his own omnipotence, this cause shall hold on its career of noiseless, bloodless triumph, till peace shall fill the whole earth with its spirit and its blessings.

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESSES AT THE ANNIVERSARY.

MR. PEABODY'S ADDRESS.

MR. PEABODY, in moving the resolution on the possibility of settling all disputes between nations, as between individuals in well regulated society, by pacific means without resort to arms, said—

In advocating this resolution, Mr. President, I would remark that war never settles a dispute between nations. There never has been an instance in which such a dispute was brought to an amicable adjustment by military operations. The sword, so far from reconciling the parties, tends only to make the matter worse, to multiply and aggravate their difficulties, until they are obliged to cease from fighting, and resort to negotiation, arbitration, or some other pacific means, as the only possible way of ending the quarrel.